Jawaharlal Nehru's Humanism and International Relations

According to Nehru, the benefits of science and technology should be directed towards improving the quality of life of all people rather than exacerbating the already existing ominous threat of mass annihilation. At the dawn of the present century, Einstein with his rare foresight warned us that the unleashed power of atom would change everything. The global situation with its continuing cold war between strong nations possessing nuclear weapons amounts to a real threat to the survival of the whole human race. Hence Nehru felt that the responsibility to maintain peace on earth is a dire necessity for human survival. The situation created by the possible nuclear confrontation calls for new methods of approach and new forms of relations between different social systems, states and regions. As Sri. P.N. Haksar writes, "the new political thinking we seek is not an appeal to 'class opponents' to renounce their class interests and look at the world through the eyes of their adversaries, nor is it an invitation to the 'Capitalist wolf' to get along with the 'Socialist sheep'. It is, in effect, an appeal to see the reality as it exists in the
world today, and face up to the truth and see things as they are and not as one would like them to be."\(^1\)

While reflecting upon the prospect of a Third World War fought with atomic weapons, Jawaharlal Nehru described the atom bomb as a symbol of incarnate evil. So it becomes the duty of everyone to try his utmost to prevent such a horrible catastrophe. The key to India's foreign policy, then lies in her desire to do all that she can to prevent a cold catastrophe. To prevent war from overtaking humanity and to promote the cause of world peace is the aim of India's foreign policy.

The need to apply this new philosophy — the philosophy of peace in international relations — in contrast to confrontional politics has assumed great importance. Confrontationist approach will lead ultimately to nuclear war and thus to complete annihilation of mankind. The policy of dialogue and peaceful co-existence alone can open new vistas for living in peace. The main thrust of peaceful co-existence has to be on creating an international order under which good neighbourliness and co-operation rather than armed force would prevail, and broad exchange of achievements of science, technology and cultural values would be carried out for the good of all nations. The roots of this new

political philosophy of peace, for which all democratic forces are working go back to the principles of foreign policy laid down by Nehru. In this context lies the importance of stressing the inherent connection between India's approach to the key problems of world politics and Jawaharlal Nehru's emphasis upon a struggle for international peace in opposition to militarism and colonialism.

Pandit Nehru was the architect and chief executive of India's foreign policy. The corner-stone of India's foreign policy, fashioned by Nehru, is the ideal of peaceful co-existence and friendship with all. Peaceful co-existence of differing, even conflicting philosophies, ideologies or ways of life is not new to India where we have been brought up in the belief that there are more than one ways to truth. The humanity is one family-nay, that all living beings constitute one kindred group is a fundamental teaching of Indian tradition. This is the reason why such great emphasis is laid on the practice of 'ahimsa'. Though this term has a negative meaning 'non-violence', it has also a positive implication which is 'active love towards all beings'. This glorious ideal of universal love and total peace greatly influenced Jawaharlal Nehru. So India under his leadership came out actively for the preservation of general peace, demanding disarmament and cessation of nuclear tests. The Government of India was determined that she must keep away from military blocks in order to
preserve peace. Hence the policy of independent India towards the rest of the world has been described as the policy of non-alignment.

India's foreign policy, according to Nehru, "is a policy inherent in the past thinking of India, inherent in the whole mental outlook of India, inherent in the conditioning of Indian mind during our struggle for freedom and inherent in the circumstances today". As a matter of fact, the traces of our foreign policy can be found even in our freedom movement. It was largely owing to Nehru's efforts that even since the mid-twenties the Congress party began to take interest in the international relations. He was the conscience keeper of the Indian National Congress with regard to the world-affairs in general. In his *Discovery of India*, Nehru noted that: "the Congress gradually developed a foreign policy, which was based on the elimination of political and economic imperialism everywhere and on the co-operation of free nations. As early as 1920, a resolution on foreign policy was passed by the Congress in which our desire to co-operate with other nations, and especially to develop friendly relations with all our neighbouring countries was emphasised." Ever since, there was no alteration of the basic aspects of our foreign policy. The

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3 Jawaharlal Nehru: *The Discovery of India* (Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1982) p.416.
Congress party adopted a resolution, which was in effect its first foreign policy statement, with a declaration that India should not participate in imperialist or any other power-blocks. The guiding principles of our foreign policy such as striving for peace in the world, willingness to work on the basis of peaceful co-existence and friendly co-operation with all nations of the world, aspirations for an equal and just economic order at home and abroad, and unfailing support to all struggles for freedom and human dignity owe their existence and strength to the cultural traditions and freedom movement of the country.

Foreign policy therefore, was not something conceived and shaped by Nehru after independence. It was merely an articulation of India's concern over the international relations, and the values developed out of national interests as perceived during years of freedom struggle. When freedom came these were projected into foreign affairs, and came to be regarded as the foreign policy of the country. What really happened after independence was that the key notions were systematised and actualised by Nehru in the context of the then-existing international relations, so that they could be implemented as the guiding principles of the country's foreign policy. India achieved her independence on 15th of August 1947, after a long non-violent struggle. She had resolved to follow the democratic way and adopt a republican form of Government. Needless to say that the newly liberated country had to face
newly intricate and difficult problems at home. In case of India, these problems became formidable and assumed huge proportions because of the social and religious conditions. Under such circumstances, it was wise and natural on the part of the new government to have decided not to get their country involved in power politics. A nation had to be built almost from a scratch.

The ideological standpoint of the Indian National movement was an equal rejection of both Western Capitalism and Soviet Communism as guidelines for India's national development. The Western politico-economic system was rejected because it was believed inevitably to breed exploitation, economic inequality, imperialism and racialism. But the Soviet model of development was also rejected because it was believed to be based on violence and dictatorship which were alien to the ideals of Indian national movement. In a world divided into two powerful blocs with the two different ideologies, both of which were repugnant to nationalist Indian thinking, the only rational strategy for foreign policy could be that of non-alignment.

The policy of non-alignment seems also to be in harmony with India's history as well as geography. Nehru recognised the geographical condition for non-alignment when he said, "I do not say that our country is superior or that we are above passion and prejudice, hatred and fury. But as things are, there
are certain factors which help us. First of all, we are geographically so situated that we are not drawn into controversies with that passionate fury that some other countries are. This is not due to our goodness or badness, but is a matter of geography.4

The foreign policy of every nation is shaped by two broad sets of factors - its own ideals and interests, and perceptions and actions of other nations. The task of statesmanship is to create an international climate in which the nation can protect its interest and promote its ideals. India has tried to make her foreign policy a dynamic and flexible instrument for projecting her own views and for safeguarding her own interests. The objectives of India's foreign policy are to promote the cause of peace and international co-operation, as she believes that this would secure not only her own interests but also of the entire international community. It is this policy, which enabled her to promote a more rapid economic growth at home and also, at the same time, to keep here region free from tensions, as far as possible.

It follows that India's foreign policy has been the product of interaction of many and varied factors - the traditional values of Indian society, the commitments of the Indian national movement during the struggle for freedom,

the geopolitical situation, the economic needs of society which is in urgent need of a take-off, and the internal political pressures and pulls generated by a democratic system. The main pillars of our foreign policy may be stated as anti-colonialism, non-alignment (which means hostility to none, but a deliberate detachment from competitive power blocs), a determination to judge international issues on their merits and to exercise freedom of action on the basis of such judgement, recognition of Asia and Africa as newly emerging and vital element in world politics, relaxation of international tensions, and emphasis upon disarmament and settlement of disputes without recourse to violence and war.

Nehru hated dictatorship since he was a humanist dedicated to the ideals of equality, liberty and social progress. The foreign policy of Nehru was bedrocked on disarmament and total opposition to imperialism and totalitarianism. He constantly referred to the influence of Gandhian tradition on India's political behaviour, particularly in the international sphere, and on the ideal of \textit{On\textsuperscript{e}World}. The logical outcome was a foreign policy which would steer clear of the contemporary power politics and open up a new dimension of international relations. This was precisely the function of non-alignment. India, under Nehru, thus laid the foundation for a universal non-violent order.
Jawaharlal Nehru believed that for the newly independent countries like India, it was necessary to keep out of military entanglements and rivalries between the power blocs and judge every issue on its merits free from the pulls and pressures - military, political and economic - of the so-called great powers. His policy of non-alignment was the only valid policy for India which needed peace more than anything else to develop its social and economic structure after two centuries of colonial domination. Nehru enunciated the basic philosophical foundations of non-alignment in his famous speech on 7th of September, 1946. He said "We shall take full part in international conferences as a free nation with our own policy and not merely as a satellite of another nation. We hope to develop close direct contacts with other nations and to cooperate with them in the furtherance of world peace and freedom. We propose, as far as possible, to keep away from the power politics of groups, aligned against one another, which have led in the past to World Wars and which may again lead to disasters on an even vaster scale. We believe that peace and freedom are indivisible and the denial of freedom anywhere must endanger freedom elsewhere and lead to conflict and war. We are particularly interested in the emancipation of colonial and dependent countries and people, and in the recognition in theory and practice of equal opportunities for all races. We repudiate utterly the Nazi doctrine of racialism wheresoever and
whatever form it may be practised. We seek no domination over others and claim no privileged position over other people. But we do claim equal and honourable treatment of our people wherever they may go, and we cannot accept any discrimination against them. The world inspite of its rivalries and hatreds and inner conflicts, moves inevitably towards closer co-operation and building up of a World Commonwealth. It is for this One World that free India will work, a world in which there is the free co-operation of free people and no class or group exploits another."

Non-alignment, according to Nehru, was not a policy of weakness or expediency, but a policy to enable the newly independent countries which had shaken off the yoke of colonialism and imperialism to live in peace. Just about a year before his death, Jawaharlal Nehru wrote an article in the journal 'Foreign affairs', which includes one of his last reflections on Non-Aligned Movement. He wrote "... non-alignment has become a summary description of this policy of friendship towards all nations, uncompromised by adherence to any military pacts ... Essentially non-alignment is freedom of action which is part of independence ... non-alignment is now an integral part of the

international pattern and is widely conceded to be a comprehensible and legitimate policy, particularly for the emergent Afro-Asian states.\(^6\)

The principle of non-alignment stems from the tradition of a country where different religions, races and customs face each other in the same soil. India did not adopt the policy of 'either-or' but the policy of 'this and that.' We have always conceived non-alignment as a positive policy with its trust to end colonialism and racialism, and to safeguard peace by seeking and end to the arms race. Above all, non-alignment meant courage to maintain independence of judgement or, in other words, self-reliance, so that a nation can stay away from power blocs, get on with its national tasks, and eliminate want, disease and ignorance which afflict the greater part of World's population.

One major reason we find in the policy of non-alignment was Nehru's conviction that the division of world into warring camps was a sure way to ensure the outbreak of a major world war. He explained his thinking to the delegates assembled at Belgrade for the first conference of Non-aligned states in 1961. "'Non-aligned' has a negative meaning. But if we give it a positive connotation, it means nations which object linking up for war purposes, to

military blocs, to military alliances and the like. We keep away from such an approach and we want to throw our weight in favour of peace. In effect, therefore, when there is a crisis involving possibility of war, the very fact that we are non-aligned should stir us to feel that more than ever it is up to us to do whatever we can to prevent such a calamity coming down upon us."\(^7\)

Non-alignment implies neither non-involvement nor neutrality. It is an assertion of freedom of judgement and action. It is not a negative policy. But in so far as the military blocs and the cold wars are concerned, the nation would not align itself with either bloc. Denying concerted propaganda that India's policy was at best negative and at worst ambivalent, opportunistic and politically immoral, Nehru asserted that, "when we say that our policy is one of non-alignment, obviously we mean non-alignment with military blocks. It is not a negative policy. It is a positive one, definite one and I hope, a dynamic one. . . . . . Our foreign policy has thus this positive aspect of peace. The other positive aspects are an enlargement of freedom in the World, replacement of colonialism by free and independent countries, and larger degree of co-operation among nations . . . . ."\(^8\)

For Nehru, non-alignment did


not imply any indifference to the happenings in the world around. On the contrary, he was eager to see India playing her due role in the settlement of international problems. He makes it clear in one of his speeches. "We have proclaimed ourselves during this past year that we will not attach ourselves to any particular group. That has nothing to do with neutrality or passivity on anything else. We have sought to avoid foreign entanglements by not joining one bloc or another. Inevitably, it means we have to plough a lonely furrow. Nonetheless, that is the only honourable and right position for us to take and I am quite sure that by adopting that position, we shall ultimately gain in national and international prestige."\(^9\)

Non-alignment was a declaration of independence, in international affairs and a determination to follow one's own path, without being a hanger on of any great power. Nehru was simply asking for the right of his country to consider each international issue, as it arose, on its merits, instead of tying itself up in advance with other's policies and being conditioned by the wishes and decisions of other countries. Non-alignment reserves and stoutly maintains that India will make its own decisions in her national interests and in conformity with her ideas of what is good in the interest of the world at large.

The core of non-alignment lay in our efforts to retain independence of thought, judgement and action under the conditions of the military alliances and arrangements of all sorts. The main purpose behind the policy of non-alignment was to enlarge the areas of co-operation and peace which alone could give India her opportunity to concentrate on her own development undistracted by the need to struggle for survival in a war torn world. Its essence is freedom, both political and economic, and above all, the right to live in peace without fear of war and without interference and interventions from other countries.

India was deeply interested in maintaining peace. At the same time she was not prepared to surrender her sovereign right. She wanted to work for peace independently without aligning herself with one or the other group. Though non-alignment meant that one is not committed to anything, it is not an isolationism instead, it means that a nation does not wish to engage itself in the conflicts for power which the great powers are waging. According to Nehru, non-alignment in actual concrete terms meant a policy of acting according to one's own best judgement. He pleaded that in international relations each country should have independence of judgement so that there is a degree of democratization at the international level.
This was also the clear and specific reason why Nehru chose non-alignment as an instrument for subserving India's national interest. To him, as to many others, it was obvious that India was economically very poor and militarily it was of no consequence, at the time of its independence. Hence the most important task of the Government of India under Nehru was the socio-economic reconstruction of the country, so that the standard of living of the people could be improved. It is this basic motivation and inspiration which led Jawaharlal Nehru to work for world peace. It may be recalled that when India became independent, humanity was reeling under the shock of nuclear weapons which had been used in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, in the last phase of the Second World War. It was in this tense situation that Jawaharlal Nehru realised that maintenance of world peace should be the prime task of non-alignment. His thinking, which stands to reason, was that in case of war, even newly independent countries would not remain unaffected. The scarce resources which should be used for development purposes will be used to strengthen military machine. Thus he thought that domestic development and world peace are closely linked. Hence it is in this context that Nehru's constant preoccupation with world peace should be understood.

Peace is the minimum pre-requisite for economic development, not only because a military preparation, which would be adequate for a nation's
security in all contingencies would be in fact beyond its economic capability, but also because, even when it is not directly involved in a war, a war elsewhere would inevitably dislocate its foreign trade, reduce if not eliminate, the inflow of foreign aid, and thus upset the programmes of development. The politico-economic objectives of the foreign aid could be achieved only through a policy of non-alignment, since such a policy alone could ensure the diversification of the sources of aid as well as prevent the exercise of political pressure by one super power. Nehru perceived this logical connection between non-alignment and foreign aid. It was widely thought that this policy would make economic aid available from both socialist and capitalist countries. It would thus enable India to secure economic assistance from the members of both the power blocs, without effecting the country's self respect.

Sri. V.K. Krishna Menon points to the positive side of our foreign policy when he says "It is totally untrue that on account of our foreign policy we have denied ourselves resources - economic and military, which should be otherwise available to us. We have ever since independence procured military equipment from the countries of the Western bloc and later from those of East as well. At no time have we taken the position that non-alignment is a self denying ordinance in this respect. . . . So far as economic aid is concerned, India has received from both the blocs substantial aid. At the height of the
non-alignment controversy, all aid from the West to India was totally devoid of conditions - no strings.\textsuperscript{10}

Another aspect of Jawaharlal Nehru's non-alignment was that while he wanted economic assistance for India's development, he would not for this purpose, compromise the self-respect or sovereignty. The hallmark of a sovereign country is that it should have independence of judgement and action. Encroachment on sovereignty could be accepted voluntarily in an independent world only in the interests of world order, but could not be surrendered to a stronger force.

Jawaharlal Nehru strongly believed that country's security is partly assured by its foreign policy. The normal idea is that security is maintained by the army. That is only partly true. It is equally true that a country's security depends upon its policies. A deliberate policy of friendship with other countries goes further in gaining security than almost anything else. From the security point of view, non-alignment alone could be the diplomatic supplement for defence efforts. Rasheeduddin Khan writes about it as follows: "In an epoch of world history, when alignment with blocs and affiliation with ideological poles dominated international transactions, non-alignment emerged

as an assertion of independence in foreign affairs, as a process of diffusion of bloc monoliths, as a symbol of defiance against big power domination, and as a diplomatic innovation in the phase of politics of confrontation and cold war. But its main thrust was to shift focus from status quo to change, from arms race to development, from fragmentation in blocs to an emerging unified world of interdependence and co-existence imbued with the values of peace, equality, justice and humanism."\textsuperscript{11}

The non-aligned movement plays an important role in the international arena due to its anti-imperialist and liberationist character and its contribution to the consolidation of world peace. Nehru gave a call also against colonialism, the cold war and the politics of the blocs. Full elimination of colonialism and peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems are indispensable conditions for the achievement of India's national aims as well as world progress. To the extent that this was realised the foreign policy line of India's non-participation in blocs was transformed into a policy of positive neutrality, of India's active efforts against colonialism and for averting another world war. This policy enabled India to earn ever greater prestige in international arena.

Nehru played an active and dynamic role in the International Congress against imperialism which was held in 1927 and he came to be recognised as a leading figure in the fight against the forces of colonialism and imperialism. The world-wide phenomenon of imperialism came to be looked upon as an evil, of which British rule in India was just one manifestation. The Indian freedom struggle under Nehru and Gāndhiji saw itself as a part of the world-wide movement against imperialism and colonialism. Nehru was certainly one of the first and most important leader of a national liberation movement who, apart from the communists, understood the meaning of the rise of fascism and the menace that it caused to democracy. It was he who placed our country on the road to a great anti-imperialist world power.

Already in the pre-war days India's foreign policy was emerging clearly. Nehru makes it plain in the following words: "More and more I came to think that these separate problems, political or economic, in China, Abyssinia, Spain, Central Europe, India or elsewhere, were facets of one and the same world problem. There could be no final solution any of them till this basic problem was solved. . . . as peace was said to be indivisible in the present day world, so also freedom was indivisible, and the world could not continue for long part free, part unfree . . . . If freedom was to be established in the world not only fascism and naziism had to go but imperialism had to be completely
liquidated.s

We have always conceived of non-alignment as a positive policy with its thrust to end colonialism and racialism, to safeguard peace, and to seek an end to the arms race. The values cherished by India such as anti-imperialism and anti-racism could be and were actively pursued within the framework of Non-Aligned Movement. That is why within the Non-Aligned Movement, India strongly upheld the right of African countries to be free, and supported the efforts of the developing countries for a New International Economic Order (NIEO). She has been supporting all genuine moves for disarmament, particularly by way of reduction and eventual abolition of all nuclear arms.

Jawaharlal Nehru on September 24th of 1946 delivered a speech in which he said "She (India) will uphold the principle of freedom for dependent people and will oppose racial discrimination wheresoever it may occur. She will work with other peace-loving nations for international co-operation and good will without the exploitation of one nation by another." Ever since the national Indian Government appeared, its head, Jawaharlal Nehru constantly underlined that the basic features of Indian foreign policy were anti-

colonialism, anti-racialism and non-participation in power blocs. As a progressive thinker and humanist Jawaharlal Nehru's mind and heart were filled with the deep disgust at the Nazi ideology, fascism and racism. He was a patriot, a nationalist and his nationalism was part of his internationalism. He looked upon the freedom and independence of India only as a part of the larger concept of freedom and independence of all nations in the world.

Nehru felt that constant effort was necessary to see not only that root causes of conflict such as imperialism and racialism were removed, but also that any crisis situation emerging as a result of the clash between the two super powers was defused as early as possible and not allowed to escalate into a world war. If this was not done, the cold war could any moment develop into a hot war and this in a nuclear age was bound to result in a world-wide catastrophe. The urge to prevent such a catastrophe led Nehru to evolve a style of diplomacy which enabled a militarily weak country like India to play a major role in world politics, thereby enhancing India's prestige in the community of nations as well as contributing substantially to the maintenance of world peace. It is necessary not only to liquidate the remaining vestiges of colonialism but also to create a climate which would assure the developing countries their freedom and sovereignty and the right and opportunity to exploit their natural resources for the progress and welfare of their people.
It is impossible to talk about the peace-loving policy of new India without touching upon the great and decisive role and the activity of Jawaharlal Nehru for the formulation, the gradual establishment and the acceptance of the 'five principles' known as Panchsheel, as a basis for the attainment of common peace, friendship and co-operation among the people. Nehru spelt out the implications of non-alignment by the positive doctrine of 'Panchsheel'. The five principles of peaceful co-existence call for the self-discipline of nations. At the mass meeting dedicated to the Indo-Soviet friendship which took place in Moscow in 1955, Jawaharlal Nehru spoke about 'Panchsheel' as follows: "It is in recognition of the right of each country to fashion its own destiny that the Indian Government and the People's Government of China agreed to the Five principles to govern their relations with each other. These principles were, Respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty; Non-aggression; Non-interference in each other's internal affairs; equality and mutual benefit; and peaceful co-existence."\(^{14}\)

India and China signed the *Panchsheel Declaration* in 1954. The principles represent the approach of tolerance, of non-interference, of living one's life, of learning from other but neither interfering nor being interfered.

with. Speaking of the highly humane idea for peaceful co-existence the "Five-principles', Nehru made it clear that the idea for peaceful co-existence was not a new idea for India, and that it was at the bottom of the very Indian way of life. It is as ancient as Indian thought and culture. "About 2200 years ago", Nehru explains, "Asoka - the great son of India has proclaimed that idea and carved it on the stone slabs that still exist today to communicate his message."\(^{15}\)

Jawaharlal Nehru underlines the great role and significance of 'Panchsheel in international relations. "No great truths may be new," he said, "but it is true that an idea like non-interference of any kind - political, economic or ideological, - is an important factor in the world situation today. You make a law and the law gradually influences the whole structure of life in a country, even though some people may not obey it. Even those who do not believe in it gradually come within its scope. The conception of 'Panchsheel' means that there may be different ways of progress, possibly different outlooks, but that

\(^{15}\) Jawaharlal Nehru - *India's foreign policy (Selected speeches for the period 1946-1961)* (Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and broadcasting, Government of India, 1961) p.177.
broadly, the ultimate objective may be the same . . . "16 What he wanted to advocate was a faith in the ultimate objectives.

By 1955 more than thirty countries had accepted the above principles in one form or another. "I have no doubt," said Nehru in 1955, "that these principles of international behaviour, if accepted and acted upon by all countries of the world, would go a long way to put an end to the fears and apprehensions which cast dark shadows over the world."17 It was considered natural that while living in the gradually compressing world of today nations were likely at times come into conflict of one kind or another. But what Nehru wanted was to spread the conception of a peaceful settlement of such disputes.

The universal homage to 'Panchsheel is the logical consequence of the fact that power and influence in the world today are effective only to the extent they establish a living nexus with the real aspirations of people and States rather than a means of promoting narrowly conceived notions of national interest. It brings together people in mutual co-operation despite the obvious differences in social and political systems.

17 Ibid. p.303.
We have arrived at a stage in human affairs when the ideal of 'One World' and some kind of world federation seems to be essential. We should work for that ideal and not for any grouping which comes in the way of this larger world group. Nehru was opposed to forming of separate blocs, groups and factions in politics-national and international, hence his continuous word of caution was against building a 'third bloc', 'third force' etc., that tended to divide and fragment. It meant that Nehru did not want to turn non-alignment into an organisation and said that world was not in need of such an organisation. He sought to emphasize the increasing danger of nuclear war and the primacy of peace and peaceful co-existence as the basic challenge of the time. Striving for world peace was certainly the most characteristic feature of non-alignment as conceived of by Nehru. The emergence of India as an important factor in world affairs - a factor of peace and justice - is the result of Nehru's vision of India as a part of the world community.

In the modern world today, the unity and independence of a nation depend as much on its internal strength as on friendly external relations. That is why India has constantly followed a policy of good neighbourliness. Nehru was convinced that the true role of a statesman in this disturbed world lay in the way of lessening tensions and conflicts and bringing about a climate of understanding and mutual accommodation with a view of settling international
differences without resort to the horrors of war. He was a towering world force skillfully inserting the peace will of India between the ranging antagonisms of the great powers of East and West. As a humanist and believer of universal brotherhood, Pt. Nehru showed his anxiety towards East-West rivalry and the destructive capacity of nuclear weapons. He appealed the super powers not to pile up more arms which may lead to annihilation of mankind. He pleaded for peace and peaceful co-existence among the competing powers. The great powers are not yet in harmonious relationship to each other; but with the help of non-aligned world they have learned to exercise a wise restraint.

The essence of non-aligned movement is freedom, both political and economic and above all, the right to live in peace without fear of war and without interference and intervention from other countries. Universal peace, according to Nehru can be attained only when all nations gain their independence and every single country is free to work fruitfully. That is the reason why, peace and freedom, according to him, should be discussed in both their political and economic aspects. "The freedom that we envisage is not confined to this nation or that, or to a particular people, but must spread out over the whole human race. That human freedom cannot be based on the
supremacy of any particular class. It must become the freedom of the common
man everywhere and full opportunity for him to develop. 

Jawaharlal Nehru made efforts to spread the highly humane idea of the
peaceful co-existence among the people and the countries in order to bring
about a different social order in the international realm. He hoped that the
policy of peace if adopted, would weaken the international tensions. He also
expressed his hope that the principle of peaceful co-existence among the
countries would be accepted on a larger scale. In his first statement on Radio
Delhi in September 1946, Jawaharlal Nehru pointed out, "We hope to develop
close and direct contact with other nations and to co-operate with them in the
furtherance of world peace and freedom. His concept of peace was not a
mere absence of war but a positive concept of international understanding and
co-operation in all fields. It assumed even greater importance in the thermo-
nuclear age of our time.

In emphasizing the need for adopting the right attitude in the relation
among nations, Nehru often referred to the legacy of Mahatma Gandhi and
explained that his basic approach to world politics in general and Indian

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18 Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches Vol. (1946-49) (New Delhi: Publications
Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1983)
p.303.
19 Ibid. p.2.
foreign policy in particular had been profoundly influenced by the Gandhian tradition. Nehru's vision extended far beyond the frontiers of India. His vision was that of one world where different people and nations with their own cultural identities and aspirations could live in peace, friendship and equality. He attached paramount importance to promote understanding, and to the developing and strengthening bilateral co-operation in the political, economic and cultural fields. The conduct of our foreign policy has been directed towards this objective of building bridges of friendship, co-operation and understanding.

It is in pursuance of the policy of non-alignment that India took several steps to strengthen its relations of friendship and co-operation in our external relations. Of course India had given considerable importance to her friendship with the Soviet Union. It was emerged as a very important aspect of our external relations since independence. India and Soviet Union in spite of the differences between their political and economic systems, have sought and developed enduring relationship. India was supported also by a large measure of economic assistance by the United States, especially in times of crises such as food shortage etc.

India has close ties of friendship with Bangladesh and it is our policy to continue and strengthen this friendship. With Afghanistan we have always had
friendly relations. Our co-operation with other countries in the area such as Srilanka, Burma, Nepal and Bhutan has continued to gain strength in recent years. With the countries of South-East Asia, we have been able to establish understanding and friendly relations in the political and economic realism. With Iran and Iraq we have an ever-growing, mutually useful, technical and industrial co-operation, progressing on parallel lines with our political friendship. An effective and sustained diplomatic effort has also been set in motion in the West Asian area to develop further economic contacts with all the countries in the region including Kuwait, Syria, Jordan, the Gulf states and Saudi Arabia.

India believes that as neighbours who share so much of history, tradition and culture there is no rational alternative to friendship and co-operation between India and Pakistan. At the same time, we recognise that as close neighbours, it is not unnatural for problems and difficulties to arise from time to time. What is essential is a commitment and determination to overcome the difficulties in a spirit of friendship, good neighbourliness and mutual recognition of the economic and geographical imperatives of the region as a whole. It was with this version of peace and co-operation in the sub-continent that the Simla Agreement was signed with Pakistan in July 1972. We believe that there are no problems between neighbours which cannot be solved by
understanding and negotiation if there is willingness on both sides.

Thus, our foreign policy moves has given a new dynamism and renewed our self confidence in the conduct of our relation with foreign countries and with international community.

Unfortunately, China did not respond fully to India's efforts at creating an era of peaceful and friendly co-operation between the two countries. It was India's non-alignment policy that was challenged when the Chinese forces penetrated into the country in 1962. The test was all the more severe because China's action struck at the principles of peaceful co-existence and created great confusion among the 'third world' countries as it endangered the very idea of the policy of non-alignment. Instead of honouring the five-principles of peaceful co-existence, China started a process of nibbling at India's territory in the North and embarked on a massive invasion in 1962. This gave a great set back to India's idea of cementing friendship, peace and co-operation between the two largest countries of Asia. Nehru's biographer Chalapathi Rau considers that "the Chinese attack of 1962 was the saddest chapter of Jawaharlal's life."20

After the Chinese incursion into India, Nehru was severely criticised for India's policy of non-alignment with the blocs. His policy was subjected to triple pressure by the imperialists, the Indian reactionaries and China. But Nehru did not budge. He was firm on the belief that it would be a folly for India to abandon her policy of non-alignment and that any other policy would be disastrous for the country. He did not break diplomatic relations with China and continued his efforts at finding a peaceful solution for the border problem. Thanks to Nehru's policy, the Sino-Indian conflict soon came to an end although relations remained strained for a long time.

One could differ with Nehru's handling a particular problem or crisis, but there is no doubt that, by and large the policies he framed for India's relations with outside world have stood the test of time. The framework of our foreign policy constructed by Nehru has thus proved to be durable despite all pressures, both domestic and foreign, exerted upon it.

In all matters, Nehru felt that humanity is above all nations. The task set to our generation is not the task of merely building up of our nation. It is a question of building up of the whole world. Nehru was a dedicated servant of humanity and touched the conscience of the people. He made them feel responsible for the dignity of man and promotion of peace.
Nehru was essentially a man of peace. A born humanist, Nehru believed that peace was essential for the progress of humanity. He hated war. He worked for the abolition of nuclear weapons which meant death to millions and disease to more. Nuclear war is a condition in which every one loses. The many studies made in various countries and under U.N. auspices are convincing evidence that the use of even a relatively small portion of the nuclear weapons stockpile will instantly kill hundreds of millions of people, destroy immense material and cultural values and cause heavy damage to the productive forces. More likely than not, the survivors will be doomed to slow death from hunger and disease. So today more than ever before the future of humanity depends on the determination of the people to safeguard peace.

Nehru told the Parliament in August 1958, "There is not the shadow of a doubt that if a war is once started, the full panoply of the weapons of the atomic age will reveal itself." On many occasions Nehru appears to adopt a pessimistic attitude when he thinks of war, but ultimately he emerges as an optimist with the faith in the triumph of peace. Elimination of the threat of war is a victory for mankind. So India under Nehru came out actively for the preservation of general peace, demanding disarmament and cessation of

nuclear tests. As observed by Sri Asianand, "In the tightening cold war confrontation between the power blocs and deepening division of the world in First, Second and Third worlds, Nehru became a sought after mediator and ambassador of peace . . . ."22 Thus Nehru appeared in the history as a keen explorer of the ways and means to strengthen peace. Since the nuclear weapons were the greatest threat to the world peace, Nehru gave a call against it. He made sincere efforts to halt the arms race and thus to save the mankind. He proposed in the United Nations complete nuclear disarmament in 1954, as a part of this effort. This was the first such appeal made by any world statesman in that international organisation. Nehru was consumed by the desire to see some concrete progress towards a world rid of nuclear menace.

As a strong believer in world peace Nehru cherished the concept of One World Community. Humanism was brilliantly reflected in his fruitful activity for the cause of peace and friendship between people of different nations. He served the cause of world peace as an outstanding exponent of the policy of non-alignment. Peaceful co-existence, for him, was the practical form of non-alignment. This philosophy of co-existence is the mainstay of world peace today and thus his voice of peace is rung throughout the world. As Justice

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V.R. Krishna Iyer observes "Independent judgement on issues, a demand for peace and resolute stand against nuclear bombs and a host of spin off benefits from this snow-balling movements came from one man's unquenchable humanism on a global scale to defend mankind against the earth's enemies, whatever their flags, and chart out of prospect of universal prosperity." Thus Nehru turned out to be a healing hope for the rising generations.

The concepts of non-alignment, anti-colonialism, anti-imperialism, working for peace and at the same time working for peaceful co-existence constitute the bases of India's foreign policy. We still keep to these main features though some, amendments were brought in with regard to its operation depending upon the changes in world situation. Hence the foreign policy of India basically remains intact, and inspite of various counter influences it shows a strong tendency to continue in the channels foreseen by Nehru.

Today there is undoubtedly widespread understanding and acceptance of the policy of non-alignment and its relevance and importance. As Rashiduddin Khan points out. "There is now a greater importance, realization of India's early contribution in providing initial stability and direction to Non-

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aligned Movement, especially the creative role that the architect of its foreign policy Jawaharlal Nehru, had played as the precursor (1947-1955) progenitor (1955-1961) and pioneer (1961-1964) of the Non-Aligned Movement, thereby committing the largest newly liberated developing country with an active democratic polity and expanding industrial base, to the global task of building a de-colonised world of equals with shared goals for a common future.\(^\text{24}\)

As one looks back over the fifty years of India's independence, one cannot but admire and pay tribute to the vision of Jawaharlal Nehru, the architect of modern India. His policy of peace and peaceful co-existence, of non-alignment and a new just world economic order, his passion for justice and stand against inequality are various facets of his dynamic personality which have stood India in good stead. They have an enduring quality for safeguarding peace, security and stability not only in India, but throughout the world.